4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

585 great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain
583 true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

592 Every married pair may constitute a household, a *koeren*, the unit of the village or ward (*bandjar*). Usually, in a household of a number of children,
[591] one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man
[593] reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the house-
428 hold at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the
653 village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

562 *Age and Sex Typing.* The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loeh moerwani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are inter-
[611] changeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have
[428] a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may
562 be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or
462 another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

562 Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes
[831] distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis
[462] on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the dif-
[592] ference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (*koeren*) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

When men and women have passed through their age of maturity into old age, they reach again a period in which sex distinctions are of little consequence. This is the age at which everyone calls them grandfather (*pekak*) and grandmother (*dadong*) as terms of respect, when they are turned to for advice in the village, when they are powerful in the affairs of the family. At every temple festival one can see these old men and these old women, busy arranging everything as it should be, telling the younger folk where everything should go and what is missing and what comes next. They are lively and important and, for Balinese, play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. Very often it is these old people who go into trance, dance, and give utterance as the gods' spokesmen.

In other parts of Indonesia one finds people with matrilineal social organization living in areas contiguous to people with patrilineal organization, such as, let us say, the matrilineal Minangkebau in Sumatra and their neighbors, the patrilineal Batak. In Bali, there is no trace of matrilineal organization. Instead, there is the possibility of the substitution of the female for the male. Though descent is reckoned in the male line, the family is to all intents and purposes bilateral. What is more, a man who has no sons but has a daughter may arrange for her a *sentana* marriage with a young man who will enter his household, renounce his own ancestral line, and become the "heir" to the ancestral line of his father-in-law. He then gives offerings at the house temple of his wife's ancestors, just as in the usual case the woman gives offerings after her marriage at the house temple of her husband's ancestors. This sort of marriage is thought of as an adoption and is an alternative to the adoption of a brother's son or a cousin's son in the necessary business of securing a child to carry on the patrilineal line.

This *sentana* marriage and the early adoption of children (*anak pekidih*, asked for child) are written into the *adat*, the customary law, and serve to illustrate how strong is the sense of the continuity of the family line, ancestor to adult to child, whether this continuity be achieved through male or through female blood lines. The emphasis is on the male side, and when relationship is traced through the female it is done substitutively, without any of the aura of matriliny and matriarchy about it, and casually, without very much of the patriarchal either. The old men, the elders of the villages with the more rigid, older social organization, come nearer to the patriarchal attitude than any one in the more modern villages of Bali, yet even here the wives may at times substitute for them in priestly functions. Male and female together, as an entity, is the idea which runs through the whole culture. If a woman acts, she acts as the representative of this entity,

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

595 591 592 children, and her third son, Poepoel, who is unmarried. Her youngest son, Popol, lives with his wife and child in the "town house" with his father and Metoe. Metoe's daughter Loe'ed lives with her husband and her six children in another koeboe also on her father's land, for the husband is poor and landless, and glad to work his father-in-law's fields in return for his share of the crop. (He is not a sentană, as Méweh has sons enough to carry on the line. Such a working relationship is called silih, which has the meaning of borrowing or repaying a debt, in friendly exchange.) Soewakă says that all these people, that is the two wives with all their children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren (with the exception of the daughter Sémbrod and the son Keroenă), and including also the old mother of Metoe, all these people "get rice at his house." But those who live in the koeboes cook it in their own houses. Here the term which was used for the dependence of Dog in Rendah's house, ngerob, does not apply, for although they share the crop, they do not share a kitchen. Nevertheless Metoe's portion, which came to Soewakă as sentană, has sufficed to maintain his entire second family, as well as Metoe's daughter, with her husband and six children.

552

591 608 582 Keroenă, the eldest son of Soewakă and Méweh, also became a sentană. He married Saboh, the only daughter of Njadet and Njambléh. Njambléh is his mother's paternal parallel cousin, and Njadet the son of his mother's father's paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, II). It will be remembered that Njadet and Njambléh were the children of paternal parallel cousins (p. 16).

The youngest son of Méweh, Popol, has married his maternal cross-cousin, Te'er, the daughter of Gari (fig. 1, IV, a). But this description, though biologically true, does not quite fit the case. Gari, born the brother of Méweh, was adopted at the age of three months by a childless uncle, Klepoeg. He became, then, by adoption, Méweh's paternal parallel cousin, instead of her brother. The marriage of Popol and Te'er is to be considered socially as another marriage of the children of paternal parallel cousins (fig. 1, IV, b).

582 611 There is one more child of Méweh who concerns us here, the daughter Sémbrod, who married the son of her father's male paternal cross-cousin (fig. 1, III). Her case differs from that of her brother Popol, in that her relation to her husband sprang from an original cross-cousinship, carried through a parallel phase in the second generation; and Popol's relation to his wife (considered socially) sprang from an original parallel cousinship, carried through a cross phase in the second generation. Note that the description of Sémbrod's case holds true whether she is considered as the

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

child of the line of Gongang, Soewakā's own father, or of the line of Mentik, father of Metoe, who became Soewakā's social and religious father when Soewakā married Metoe as a sentanā. It is impossible for a Balinese to state definitely to which line Sembrod belongs, as she calls both Mentik and Gongang pekak, grandfather, just as she calls all her uncles bapā, father. Even Rendah, who is her mother's cousin, she calls bapā. That is why the matter of inheritance is significant in tracing the emphasis of kinship, for it is only after the fact of succession to property that one can be sure where the emphasis lies. In this particular family, of Metoe-Soewakā-Méweh, complicated by the sentanā marriage on one side and the ordinary marriage on the other, we shall have to await Soewakā's death to see what transpires. One can only note probabilities from the present distribution of the family in the three houses, the "town house," and the two koeboes in the fields (cf. fn. 5 and fig. 2, IV). Metoe's only daughter Loe'ed did not marry a sentanā, as might have been expected, although her husband is a poor man. They do not live in the town house, but in a koeboe of their own on Soewakā's land. There is no chance of their inheriting the town house, since succession does not go through daughters. Probably they will inherit a tenantry right to a portion of the ricefields. Méweh's eldest son, Keroenā, married as a sentanā into the family of Njadet, and therefore has no further claim on his own family, but will inherit from Njadet. He is already pengajā, member of the village council, for that household, because Njadet has become too deaf to fulfill his functions. Méweh's second son, Tèmplok, lives with his mother in her koeboe, and he is pengajā for that household. Poepoel, the third son, also lives there. Probably either Tèmplok or Poepoel will inherit that house, perhaps share it. In any case they have no chance for the town house, as they are intermediate sons. The daughter Sembrod is now a member of her husband's family and can expect nothing from her father's estate. This leaves Popol, Méweh's youngest son, who would seem to be the logical heir to the town house. As we should expect, we find him living there with his father and his co-mother Metoe, ready to take over the rights on the death of his father.

Let us go back now two generations to the family of Géwar, where we find another curious case of inheritance, not conjecture this time, but accomplished fact (fig. 2, I). It will be remembered that Géwar had five sons who served as parakans of the local prince. He lived in the house marked 2 on the map. His eldest son, Bedil, after his marriage, lived in house 3, and the second son, Boedal, in house 4 (which is now Rendah's). It was the third son, Klepoeg, who inherited the paternal house, No. 2.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

broad and not altogether consistent way corresponds to the gentry-peasantry distinction common to nonindustrial civilizations generally. Each group is then subdivided further in terms of the title system, the actual basis of the individual's rank in the society. Given a sample list of titles *Ida Bagus, Tjokorda, Dewa, Ngakan, Bagus, I Gusti, Gusti, Gusi, Djero, Gde* any but the most uninformed Balinese could tell you they were placed in a generally descending order of status, but only a small minority of theorists could tell you that the first was a Brahmana title, the next four Satria, the next three Vesia, and the last two Sudra.[8] In making status distinctions a man thinks and talks in terms of titles, not in terms of caste.

In general, a man may marry anyone of the same title or lower, a woman anyone of the same title or higher—thus hypergamy. In pre-Dutch times (i.e., before 1906, for South Bali only came under direct Dutch control at the beginning of this century) miscaste marriages were punished by exile or—particularly in the case of a Triwangsa girl and a Sudra man—death. Even today a girl marrying down is commonly "thrown away" by her family, in the sense that she is no longer recognized as kin and all social intercourse between her and her parents ceases. Under modern conditions such breaches often heal after some years have passed, particularly if the mismatch is not too great; but miscaste marriages are in any case very rare even today.

As the number of Triwangsa is so much less than the number of Sudra, status regulation of marriage means that the patterns of affinal connection tend to work out rather differently for the two groups, in that most Triwangsa marriages are hamlet exogamous, i.e., interlocal, while most Sudra marriages are hamlet endogamous, i.e., intralocal. This contrast lifts the horizontally linked Triwangsa up as a supra-hamlet all-Bali group over the highly localized Sudra; a pattern congruent, of course, with the fact that the Triwangsa almost completely monopolized the interlocal, superordinate political and religious roles of the traditional Balinese state structure, as they do today of the Balinese branch of the Indonesian civil service.

The caste (or title) composition of any given hamlet (or temple group, or irrigation society) varies very widely. In one locality one may find representatives of a wide range of titles in a smooth gradient from the highest to the lowest, in another only very high and very low ones, in a third only middle range or only very high ones, in a fourth nothing but Sudra, and so on. And, as caste is a crucial factor in both political and kinship organization, such differences entail important differences in social structure. Prestige stratification in Bali is a powerful integrative force both on the local and on the island-wide levels.

5. *Consanguineal and affinal kinship ties.* Descent and inheritance are patrilineal in Bali, residence is virilocal, but kinship terminology is classic Hawaiian—i.e., wholly bilateral and generational. The major exception to patri-descent and residence is that a man who has no sons may marry a daughter uxorilocally and designate her as his heir; her husband abandons his rights

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

591 in his own patriline, as a woman does at marriage in the normal case, and
611 moves to his wife's home to live. As this almost always occurs in cases where
428 male heirs are lacking, Balinese genealogies show a noticeable ambilineal element, in that a certain percentage of the ties are traced through women rather than men.

592 The basic residential unit is the *pekarangan* or walled house compound, which in kinship terms may house groups which range from a simple nuclear family up to a three or more generation extended patri-family. Typically two or three nuclear families, often with various unattached or aged patri-relatives, occupy a single pekarangan, but occasionally compounds with as many as ten or fifteen families, related through a common paternal grandfather may be found, particularly among the upper caste groups. In addition to being a residential unit, the compound is a very important religious unit, for each com-
[346] pound group supports a small temple in the northeast corner of the yard dedi-
[769] cated to its direct ancestors at which twice yearly ceremonials must be given. Finally, the compound is usually divided into kitchens, called *kuren*, typically one nuclear family to a kitchen, but sometimes two or three, and it is this kitchen group which is the basic kin unit from the point of view of all superordinate social institutions: it is the kuren which is taxed for the Kahyangan-Tiga temples, which is allotted a seat in the meeting house, which must send a worker to repair the dam or participate in the harvest, which is the rice-field owning unit, and so on.

614 Above the compound and the kitchen one commonly finds, within any
621 given hamlet, from one to ten or so (largely but not entirely) endogamous corporate kin groups called *dadia*.[5] Such dadia are basically ritual units, but they may also act as collective work groups for various social and economic tasks, may provide the main framework for informal social intercourse outside the immediate family for its members, may serve as an undivided unit in the local stratification hierarchy, and may form a well-integrated faction within the general hamlet political system. The degree to which it takes on these general social functions differs rather widely from village to village. In some villages dadia organization is the central focus of social life, the axis around which it revolves; in others it is of relatively secondary importance; and in a few villages, especially semi-urbanized ones, dadia may not exist at all.

Rarely is the whole hamlet population organized into dadia, and sometimes only a definite minority will be. This is so because of the manner in which dadia are formed. When a family line begins to grow in size, wealth, and local political power, it begins to feel, as a consequence of what is probably the central
[181] Balinese social value, status pride, a necessity for a more intensified public expression of what it takes to be its increased importance within the hamlet. At this point the various households which compose the line will join together under a chief elected from among them to build themselves a larger ancestral temple. This temple will usually be built on public, hamlet-owned land, rather than within the confines of one of the houseyards, thus symbolizing the fact

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[651 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

●611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
[614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system,
but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The
greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three high-
est castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one
hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may,
however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part
speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying
outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste.
Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance
rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has
not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheri-
tance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted,
went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences: the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB/
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Madura OE6
Minangkabau, OD10 Java OE1
Batak OD5
Bali OF7
Ngadju. OC9

Ng I 612 155 736 [591] 583 MA J I 612 855 736 [692] I R Bl Bt MA 855 578 587 ●611 I 61 855 429

C. THE CARE OF ORPHANS

In regions having a bilateral system of kinship, when one of the parents dies or is missing, while there are still small children in the family, the remaining parent continues to carry on with parental authority. It may be, however, that when the father is an outsider the children are left to the family group of the deceased, as is the case with the Ngaju Dyaks. If both parents die, in a bilateral region the duty of caring for the orphans falls upon whichever of the groups of relatives is in the best position to care for them. The location of the family residence during the children's lifetime is naturally of great importance in influencing the course of action in this situation. The nature of the marriage payments, which had been made by the parents, may also be an influential factor, as in some Dyak tribes of Borneo.

Older children decide for themselves to which group they shall adhere, according to personal preference. In any concrete situation, the operation of choice between the principles of next-of-kin and who-is-best-situated-for-the-job is a family group matter. If difficulties interpose, or no one is available, or the available persons are unsuitable, in Java and Madura the Native Superior Court can appoint a guardian.[2]

Among people with unilateral organization, if the parent who gives descent to the children survives (i.e., the mother among the Minangkabau, or the father among the Bataks, Lampongs, or in Bali), he or she alone among the relatives continues to exercise parental authority. But if the other parent survives (the one from whom descent is not reckoned), noticeable tension between the family and the clan group arises. In Minangkabau the children stay under control of the kin group of their dead mother. But their father will participate in their well-being as much as the actual circumstances permit. Among the Bataks and in Bali, the widow stays on to rear the children in the midst of her husband's relatives, either as a widow or remarried to her deceased husband's younger brother under the levirate. However, if she wishes to return to her own kin or to marry someone else, she may leave her husband's group, but the children stay under the control of their paternal relatives.

In situations where migration, or other circumstances, have led to a stronger small family life than was formerly the case, this

[2] Chapter II, Ordinance of January 31, 1931, Staatsblad, 1931, No. 53.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Gorontolo OG4 Java OE1
Gayo-Alas OD7 Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

in the frontier region between the Minangkabau and Mandailing. It does not occur at all in Angkola.

The second form of adoption is the "nyentanayang" of Bali. This is adoption from within the great traditional clan of relatives (purusa). However, in recent times adoption from outside this group is growing in frequency. In some villages members of the wife's family may be adopted. If the head wife has no children, but a secondary wife does, then her children are made children of the first wife by adoption. If there are no male relatives available for adoption, a girl may be chosen. The legal act of adoption requires first that a thread be burned in two, so as to separate the child from its own family. The second step is the adat payment of one thousand kepeng to its mother. The man who is doing the adopting acts in concordance with his family group; it is announced in the desa; and permission must be obtained from the officials of the prince, who draw up a legal document. The child itself gets presents. Here again, the child is fully cut off from its former parents, even in inheritance, and is a full member of its new family group.

The motive for this form of adoption is also the fear of dying childless and so suffering the extinction of the line of descent. A widow may also adopt a child for her deceased husband.

As a third variety, there is the adoption of nephews and nieces, which occurs in Celebes, Java, and other places. Among the Gayo, the Pasemah and the Pepadon groups, in the Lampongs, it takes place alongside of the adoption of non-relatives. However, it is distinguished from this last form by name and in the omission of payments for the children.

The adoption of nephews is, in a broad sense, to be compared with the transfer of family land by partition, as a shift within the family group as such. Usually, there is no question of payments. Nevertheless, a practice in East Java, which gave adoption the character of a cash transaction, still seems to exist in the payment of a magical token of "rong wang sagobang" (seventeen and one-half cents) to the real parents, as a means of breaking their magic tie to the child. Among the Minahasans a tangible token, called "parade" (not lilikur, it seems) is given to the child in confirmation of the adoption.[5] The predominant purpose is, as usual, to get a descendant to carry on a person's line. But this is

[5] Concerning the old age care contract, which the Minahasans call "adoption," the reader should refer back to p. 138.

[cat. 116 -- Analyst]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Land Dyak OC8 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Ambon OH4 Minangkabau OD10
Bali OF7

Possessions which a man has acquired as his own during his lifetime (harta pencharian) may pass as an indivisible unit at his death to his descendants, who are entitled to them and who during his lifetime already stood in relation to the possessions as "waris." (See p. 189.) If, for example, among the Minangkabau a woman dies in personal possession of a field, then that field becomes the indivisible group possession of her children: "harta pusaka" in the first generation. In a like manner, "harta pencharian" of a man become the "harta pusaka" of his brothers and sisters and the descendants of the sisters in the female line. Thus subdivisions are formed in the "harta pusaka." There are the oldest possessions[1] going back many generations and originating from the ancestral mothers, who co-operated in the establishment of the "nagari." And there are the most recent possessions originating from a deceased man or woman of the previous generation. Between these are the complexes originating from ancestors of several generations back. All this becomes simpler in practice than it appears, as a result of the dying-out of groups and the consequent fusion of family units. If an extended family becomes too large, then it splits up, and there is a split in the indivisible property (gadang manjimpang). Where, as on the Hitu Peninsula of Ambon, such indivisible extended family property (dati) is in the hands of a patrilineal subclan, the children of the man and the descendants of the sons are the continuers thereof. The characteristic feature of this first type of undivided estate is, accordingly, the impossibility of division and the fact that the group is jointly entitled to it, mostly under the guidance of an extended family chief, the "mamaq kepala waris," (Minangkabau), or the "kepala dati" (Hitu). If the family dies out and its possessions become ownerless (guntung in Minangkabau, linnyap in Ambon), they may pass to related extended families or, if such are lacking, to the community.

Another type of undivided estate is the right of inheritance by a single child, either the oldest son (as among some of the Lampong peoples and still to some extent in Bali), or the oldest daughter, and if there are no daughters, the youngest son, among the Semendoëans of South Sumatra and among the Landak and Tayan Dyaks of West Borneo. In case of the death of the father, the oldest son slips into his place. He becomes the native possessor of the property, but he has at the same time the obligation of supporting his brothers

[1] The "harta pusaka tinggi" under the control of the head of the largest family group unit, the "pengulu andiko."

I 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
R Land Dyak OC8 Minan/Kabau CD10 Bali OF7
Bl 198 Redjang-Lampong OD12 Batak OD5
L Gorontolo 064

and sisters. He must also give them away in marriage. On Bali, he must leave a portion of the property for a household shrine. Brothers, who do not wish to remain at home with the oldest brother in this way, emigrate with their families. In the Lampongs, whole "marga" appear to have been populated in this manner. But the paternal estate remains an undistributed unit from generation to generation in the possession of the "penyimbang," the eldest son of the eldest son. If there is no eldest son, and no provision for a substitute has been made, then that branch dies out, and the estate passes to the closest related branch. The possibility that younger children may demand the capitalizing of their right of maintenance, may lead to a claim to a division of the estate and to the desuetude of the seniority inheritance right. In Bali it seems that this process is making headway. The special position of the oldest daughter[2] among the Semendoëans, and of the oldest daughter (anaq pangkalan) among the Landak and Tayan Dyaks, has the effect of holding together the principal constituents of the estate as an indivisible unit made up of one agricultural field, one residential compound, one buffalo and one coconut tree. This unit remains both the place of departure and the place of refuge for all the children. Similarly privileged is the inheritance position of the youngest son among some of the Batak peoples. The one who stays at home the longest gets that part of the estate which was undivided in the hands of the testator. His obligations toward unmarried sisters, which he shares with the older brothers, are in proportion to his privileged position.

The well-known undivided extended family estates of the Minahasa (barang kalakeran) differ from the Minangkabauan extended family property in that distribution of the undivided estate is possible and permissible, provided all parties entitled to it give consent.

If individually acquired property (pasini), such as a new planting on land belonging to the extended family, is not divided, but passes on as the joint property of a group of descendants, who are but a fraction of the family group that owns the land, it creates subdivisions of the extended family just as it does among the Minangkabau. But in the Minahasan situation the effect is far more complicated, because of endogamous marriage. This is the cause of the confusion in land rights in the Minahasa, which was to be eliminated by making legally valid distribution of estates possible without complete unanimity of the family group members, who

[2] Tunggu tubang (under the supervision of the eldest son, the payung jurai).